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ABSTRACT

This paper examines Tung's ideas of Chinese education for the ruler, for the common people, and for government servants. Tung, an important educational theorist and Confucian philosopher in China's history, suggested the imperial examination system which led to employment in the imperial civil service. It is the thesis of this paper that there was considerable philosophical continuity between the Confucian system and the Legalist doctrines of the preceding Ch'in dynasty. Tung accepted and combined the Legalist version of the ruler as being absolute with Confucian educational philosophy to create a basis for the new government. He added the Confucian ideas of culture, ethics, and education. The ruler became the supreme moral as well as secular force in the state. Education, because it was identified with the ruler as its source, became the monopoly of government. The common people were taught to be strictly obedient to the state; the educational principle being to suppress independent thought and action. But it was the education of the bureaucrats who filled the middle and lower levels of the imperial civil service that Tung viewed as most important, since they conducted the government's business. He established an imperial university to educate and select government officials who would be devoted to the ruler. These educational principles are still evident in China. (Author/JK)

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TUNG CHUNG SHU and the IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION of CONFUCIAN EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT

by

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PREFACE

Tung Chung Shu, although not a great educational philosopher as such, was as important as any educational theorist in China's long history, for it was Tung Chung Shu who first suggested both the intellectual basis and the embryonic institutions of the imperial examination system, a series of graded examinations based on the Confucian classics and leading on to employment in the government civil service. These examinations dominated Chinese education from the T'ang Dynasty (618-906) until they were abolished in 1905. Because he proposed the establishment of an imperial university to educate and select government officials, and because he was instrumental in making the Confucian classics the curriculum of the university and Confucianism the official government ideology, Tung Chung Shu is commonly acknowledged as one of the most important founders of the Confucian education system.

For one so famous, both in his own day and for hundreds of years thereafter, the dates and events that marked his life are surprisingly uncertain. Tung was born some time toward the beginning of the Former Han Dynasty (206 BC - 8 AD), most likely during the reign of the second Han emperor, Wen Ti (r179-156 BC). He died some time near the middle of the reign of the fifth Han emperor, Wu Ti (r140-86 BC). Fung Yu Lan, following Tung's most thorough recent commentator, Su Yu, suggests the dates 179 to 104 BC, but these must be taken as only approximate.[1]

Early in his career Tung Chung Shu became famous for his scholarship, particularly his mastery of the Confucian classic The Spring and Autumn Annals. He attracted numerous disciples, and eventually came to the attention of Emperor Ching Ti (r156-141 BC). Ching Ti appointed Tung to the court as a "scholar of wide learning" (bo shi), or Erudit.[2] Tung was later recommended to the emperor Han Wu Ti as one of one hundred outstanding scholars selected from throughout the empire to advise the court. While attached to the imperial court, Tung served twice as an official in relatively distant and unimportant provinces, but did not particularly distinguish himself as an administrator. His fame continued to rest upon his skill as an author, teacher, and prognosticator.

As an author, Tung was credited with having written some 123 items addressed to, or under the patronage of, the Han imperial court.[3] Nearly all of these have been lost. Some few items have been preserved in his biography in the Han Shu, or History of the Former Han Dynasty, by Pan Ku, and as quoted fragments in other such sources.[4] His major work, the Ch'un Ch'iu Fan Lu, or Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals, however, has been preserved and transmitted with most of its 82 chapters fairly well intact.[5] The Luxuriant Dew is ostensibly a commentary upon The Spring and Autumn Annals. Tung followed the method of an earlier commentary upon this book, the Kung Yang Ch'un Ch'iu, or Kung Yang's Spring and Autumn Annals. According to Kung Yang's interpretation, The Spring and Autumn Annals, although they appear to be merely a plain, tedious list of political events from about 722 to 481 BC, are in fact full of hidden meanings wrapt darkly in extremely subtle semantic distinctions, obscure metaphors, and abstruse allusions, which require considerable and ingenious exposition to be properly understood. Tung Chung Shu followed Kung Yang's path, taking the dry, matter of fact chronology of the Annals, which he credited to Confucius himself, and reading into it the mystical symbolism of a cosmology based upon the ebb and flow of the forces of yin and yang, the female and male principles of the universe found in Daoism and in a text on divination appropriated by the Confucianists, the I Ch'ing. Tung also detected in the Annals the principles of government that could, if applied properly, recreate the ideal sage kingdoms of the ancient past. These principles seemed to have considerable affinity to those suggested by a number of possible sources, including the different branches of Confucianism, Legalism, perhaps Moism, and Daoism, which were all a part of the intellectual circumstances of his day. Tung seemed to have drawn upon all these to fashion a new philosophy that had both the moral legitimacy gained by claiming descent from orthodox Confucian tradition, and the relevance to current conditions permitted by the flexibility of metaphoric interpretations and eclectic borrowing. Later Confucianists would revive a far more conservative ideology. Tung Chung Shu, however, was one of the group Michael Loewe calls

the "Modernists", the faction most associated with the establishment and growth of the fledgling Chinese empire. It was for this group, and its policies, that the Ch'un Ch'iu Fan Lu spoke.[6]

As a teacher, Tung was known throughout the empire. He was one of the first "professors" in the Imperial University, the academy he was also the first to suggest. According to his biography in the Han Shu, he taught his students from behind a curtain, and even then only a select few of them. These senior disciples then taught students of lower status what they had learned from the master, so that in fact few of his students often heard his voice, and fewer still saw his face. In spite of this somewhat impersonal demeanor, he was said to have been widely revered and respected for his proper conduct, immense learning, and dedication to scholarship. He was said to have become so engrossed in his studies once that for three years he did not even look into his garden.

Tung Chung Shu was one of those scholars who helped to reconstruct the Confucian texts destroyed or ignored since their suppression during the preceeding Ch'in Dynasty (221-207 BC). These scholars pieced together and wrote about the classics using the standardized script imposed by China's first emperor, Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. From this they became known as the "New Text"(xin wen) school, in contrast to the "Old Text" school which used manuscripts written in pre-Ch'in characters. This New Text school of Confucianism, characterized by its relative political and social progressivism, its mysticism, and its religious veneration of Confucius, began with scholars such as Tung Chung Shu, but has persisted via such scholars as K'ang Yu Wei into the twentieth century.

But it was probably as a prognosticator that Tung Chung Shu was most sought after, at least by the Han court and the superstitious Han Wu Ti. Tung explained the causes of strange natural phenomena, as well as their cures, by invoking the principles of yin and yang, as for example in his formula for stopping excessive rain: "In general, it is the basic principle of stopping rain that women (yin) wish to be hidden and covered, and that husbands (yang) should wish to be

harmonious and happy."[7] Tung particularly specialized in interpreting the signs of Heaven, such as a great flood, drought, fire, the birth of a freak, mice dancing in the courtyard, and so forth. Most of these he saw as signs of Heaven (tian) urging the emperor on to either purging the court of evil influences or taking some positive step to morally uplift the empire. Usually Tung's prophesies were very carefully phrased, and, judging from his repeated suggestion that the minor natural disasters suffered by the Empire were due to the punishment of Heaven for the sexual adventures of the same certain women of the court, not necessarily always acted upon. But explaining Heaven's intents could be a rather hazardous occupation. Tung once interpreted the causes of a fire, the burning of the ancestral temple of the founder of the Han Dynasty, Kao Tzu, as Heaven's displeasure with Wu Ti's practice of favoritism at court. Tung's draft reply was stolen by someone who, according to Pan Ku's account, out of envy sought Tung's fall. It was presented to the Emperor, who asked one of Tung's disciples, Lu Pu Shu, what he thought of it. Lu, who did not know its author, called the reply "extremely imprudent". Tung was subsequently sentenced to death for his alleged effrontery, but was later pardoned for a large sum of cash, a not uncommon practice at the time. Pan Ku concluded by observing that "Subsequently Tung Chung Shu did not dare again mention disasters and anomalous events."[8] The incident demonstrates well the precarious position Tung Chung Shu was actually in at court, no matter how secure and aloof his scholar's life may have seemed. Any even seeming criticism of the imperial majesty might meet with swift and final punishment. The need for discretion in his discussion of the qualities of the good ruler in the Luxuriant Dew was undoubtedly urgent and obvious.[9]

From the standpoint of his fellow members of the Confucian sect, Tung's chief importance was as champion of their intellectual and material cause before the Han emperors. Tung had been recommended to the Emperor Han Wu Ti along with 99 other scholars, but he was not singled out for particular attention until some time later. In 136 BC Wu Ti, in the twenty-first year of his life and the fifth year of his 55 year reign, presented a series of questions to his corps of scholars.

Wu Ti's questions were quite general, having to do with the principles of how best to rule the empire and preserve the dynasty. Tung Chung Shu's answers included both the outline of a general theory of government and some practical recommendations. These proposals brought together both Wu Ti's interests in developing a strong government and the Confucian literati's interests in becoming gate keepers to posts in the imperial bureaucracy. Wu Ti was so impressed with Tung's suggestions that he acted upon many of them immediately, and within a few years had implemented them all. Tung Chung Shu was promoted to the foremost scholar of his day, symbolizing the primacy of place Confucianists would thereafter enjoy throughout most of the rest of China's imperial history.

The name "Wu Ti" was given to the emperor after his death as a name characterizing his demeanor as ruler. It means "The Military Emperor", and was well chosen. Dubs calls Wu Ti "le grande monarque of Han times."[10] Like the Sun King, Wu Ti's reign was marked by continual warfare to extend the territory of the empire, and to free it from fear of attack by the nomadic Hun, or Hsiung Nu, tribes. Fifteen new commanderies, or administrative districts, were formed from conquered land, while continuous expeditions were sent to subjugate or buy off the barbarians outside the Great Wall. Control of this vast territory allowed the development of reasonably safe trade routes reaching from China to the Eastern Mediterranean, along which great armed caravans carried silks and other precious luxuries in both directions. The expansion of trade, commerce and manufacturing helped finance great public works as well as armies. Intellectual and artistic life flourished under the patronage of the imperial court and in some of the kingdoms and provinces, such as Huai Nan and Szechuan. The land was relatively safe from banditry, and the people flourished in peace and security - at least during the first half of Wu Ti's reign, before the drain of constant warfare, disasterous court conspiracies, and his own suspiciousness and resort to superstition began to undermine Wu Ti's achievements. They were years of optimism and expansion, of building and development, when new or radically altered institutions were created to meet the

new, enormously complex demands of the growing empire. It was in this context that Tung's ideas were selected out for particular approbation, a time when perhaps it seemed to Tung at least possible that Wu Ti might become the sage king that Confucians such as Mencius had looked for and despaired of, a sage king like Yao and Shun of the ancient legendary empires.

Tung Chung Shu believed that the key to uniting public virtue and the empire's growing power was education. Education, according to Tung, was entirely a matter of shaping and reforming moral behavior and attitudes. Social virtue was its only proper end, while its origins were in the principles taught by the sage kings. The principles of education, like the principles of morality, were the same from age to age. "As for the great principles of human relationships, morality, government, education, customs, and the meaning of words, all remain entirely as before," Tung wrote.[11] From this it followed that the model of morality and education exemplified by the sages in previous ages was entirely relevant to any subsequent age, including that of the Han empire.

The subject matter of education, Tung felt, had nothing whatever to do with inquiries into the natural world. Confucius had encouraged his followers to read the Book of Odes because it would help them to understand, besides certain moral principles, the natural world. "They (the Odes) widen your acquaintence with the names of birds, animals, and plants," he had said.[12] But, commented Tung Chung Shu, "An ability to speak of the categories of birds and beasts is not what the Sage wished. What the Sage wished to talk about was humanity and righteousness and the regulation of mankind."[13] Humanity and righteousness were familiar Confucian virtues, but the regulation of mankind, in the context of the burgeoning Han empire, was something quite new, however much Tung might seek sanctions for unifying political, moral, and educational authority in the example of the sage emperors.

THE GREAT QUESTION

In 221 BC, for the first time in actual memory, the incessantly warring states of China were at last united into a single empire. The

battle for supremacy had been won decisively by the state of Ch'in. Through intrigue, threats, and force of arms the ruler of Ch'in had eliminated one by one the other contenders to imperial power and the feudal alliances formed to preserve the old political system. In 221 he was proclaimed Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, the first Ch'in emperor.

Shih Huang Ti immediately set about to unify politically, economically, and culturally the empire he had won militarily. Following the recommendations of advisers such as Li Ssu, he introduced radical changes that modified Chinese ways of life in nearly every area and at every social level. He destroyed the old loyalties to local feudal aristocracies simply by rounding up and transporting tens of thousands of the old nobility to the wold fringes of the empire. New political divisions, called commanderies, were formed, ruled over by bureaucrats chosen not by family or wealth but by competence, by loyalty, and by dependence upon the central government to which they were directly responsible. Standard laws and punishments were proclaimed, applying to nearly all persons equally. Weights and measures were standardized. Thousands of miles of new or improved roads were built, connecting most of the empire, while even the ruts on the roads were standardized by requiring all carts to have the same wheelbase (a reform analagous to standardizing railroad guages). Shih Huang Ti protected the empire from rebellion within by collecting and melting down all weapons not required by his own army. He protected it from invasion without by building or connecting over 1400 miles of the Great Wall. He had the written language standardized, creating a common literary culture and means of communication shared by all the vastly different spoken dialects of Chinese. To create intellectual unity and curb dissention, he caused nearly all the classics of Chinese philosophy, history, and literature to be collected and burned, allowing only those books on technical subjects to survive. According to the records of his enemies, Shih Huang Ti had buried alive over 400 of those scholars who were caught not turning in their libraries.

Thus in nearly every way possible the Emperor and his advisers tried to unify, strengthen, and protect the empire, preserving

it, they hoped, through 10,000 ages yet to come. Yet scarcely four years after his death, Shih Huang Ti's dynasty had been destroyed so utterly that not a single member of the ruling family survived. In spite of the tremendous efforts to make the dynasty and the empire invulnerable, about one year after Shih Huang Ti's death an utterly trivial mutiny led it all to ruin. An officer in the Ch'in army, Ch'en She, fearing death because he was about to arrive with his men late to their post, persuaded his small following to become bandit rebels. Ch'en She and his men were quickly exterminated by Ch'in regulars, but his mutiny inspired dozens of other small spontaneous revolts throughout the empire. As the Confucianist Chia I wrote shortly after the fall of Ch'in, "So Ch'en She, without needing to be a sage like T'ang or Wu (founders of the Shang and Chou dynasties), without having any high rank such as Duke or Marquis, had only to wave his arms for the whole empire to answer like an echo."[15] In two years time the Ch'in dynasty was at an end, and one year thereafter a new dynasty, the Han, was formed.

The Han emperors inherited the Ch'in empire, but they also inherited the question that seemed to haunt them for generations after: Why had the Ch'in dynasty, which had taken every possible measure to continue itself, been anihilated with such speed and completeness? What actually had caused its fall? Could the same thing happen to the Han dynasty, and if so, how could such a fate be avoided?

The Confucian scholars of traditional Chinese culture were quick with an answer: Ch'in fell because the dynasty had adopted a degenerate social and political philosophy, one contrary to virtue, learning, and traditional culture. Ch'in had used laws and punishments to oppress the people, rather than culture and moral suasion to guide them. Being a barbarian state, only on the edge of Chinese culture, the Ch'in rulers and their advisers had employed barbarian means justified by their Legalist political philosophy to suppress culture and learning, thus antagonizing the literati. They had magnified the authority of the emperor, supplanting the traditional rights of the feudal aristocracy; and they had indulged in luxuries and great public

works requiring heavy taxation and huge drafts of forced labor, thus earning the hatred of the common people. The result was that only the smallest mutiny of an unknown soldier was enough to bring the empire down since nearly all, from the lowest peasant to Heaven itself, were set against Ch'in's rule. If the Han rulers wished to avoid a similar fate, then they were warned to turn against the doctrines of Shang Yang, Kuan Tzu, Li Ssu, and Han Fei, called "Legalists" because of their emphasis upon rule by strict laws and harsh punishments, which shaped the policies that led Ch'in to its fall, and embrace instead the Confucian concepts of government by culture, virtue, and moral suasion.[16]

For example, Kao Tzu (r202-195 BC), the rough peasant founder of the Han Dynasty, was initially so contemptuous of Confucian scholars that he was known for greeting them by urinating in their caps, the mark of their scholarly status. Gradually he seems to have been won over by them, however. Kao Tzu was told by his Confucian chamberlain Lu Chia that he may have won the empire on horseback, but "It is not on horseback that you will be able to govern it."[17] If the Ch'in emperors had not relied upon brutality and punishments, but had paid more heed to benevolence, righteousness, and culture, they would still be ruling, and Kao Tzu would still be a peasant.

Kao Tzu and his immediate successors employed Confucians as advisers, but Confucianism was at that time by no means the only political perspective represented at court. Daoism, Legalism, and simple expediency continued to shape policy with no philosophical sect entirely dominant, either officially or in fact. The question of the fall of the Ch'in continued to worry the Han rulers, however. Early in his long reign Han Wu Ti presented to his court scholars a series of questions. Why, he wanted to know, had former states fallen into ruin? "Was it because what they held to as correct was perhaps not so that they lost the rule?"[18] The question was of much concern to Wu Ti: "For this reason I have no rest or peace both early and late," he wrote.[19]

Tung Chung Shu was one of the scholars making a reply. He also seems to have been concerned with the same issue, not because of

any practical urgency but from his meditations as a scholar. In the only piece of his autobiography handed down to us, Tung described his melancholy reaction to the Spring and Autumn Annals. He wrote, "I have studied the Spring and Autumn Annals and examined the successes and failures therein, and I have become greatly depressed about the way in which the states of former times flourished and fell."[20] Much of the rest of the commentary is a discussion of the lessons to be learned from these changes of political fortune, lessons which, if properly applied, might prevent a disaster similar to the one that overtook the various states chronicled in the Annals, and by implication the Ch'in empire, from overtaking the Han Dynasty as well.

Tung was sure he knew what had brought about the collapse of Ch'in. Shih Huang Ti had ruthlessly transgressed against all the Confucian virtues of tradition and culture. Such a regime could not possibly survive: Heaven would not permit it. "They forbade literature and did not allow the owning of books. They neglected and did not use ritual and righteousness and hated to hear of them. Their intention was to completely destroy the Way of the former kings, and they used nothing but self indulgent and careless rule. Therefore fourteen years after being established as the Son of Heaven, the state was destroyed."[21] Therefore, Tung suggested, the doctrines that had brought the Ch'in Dynasty to ruin should be suppressed, and only Confucian learning should be permitted to flourish.

Wu Ti accepted Tung's recommendations, and at least for a few years banished openly anti-Confucian officials from the court.[22] This led Pan Ku, author of the Han Shu, in his eulogy to Tung Chung Shu, to state that while previous Han emperors had employed a few Confucian scholars, it was only with the replies of Tung Chung Shu that Confucianism was exalted, and the doctrines of the One Hundred Schools, particularly those of the Legalists, were suppressed.[23]

There developed in Chinese historiography, following Pan Ku, the view that the early Han was the great dividing point between the amoral teachings of Legalism which brought about the destruction of the Ch'in Dynasty, on the one hand, and the triumph of Confucianism, the

triumph of doctrines of government by virtue, custom, and culture, on the other, with Tung Chung Shu almost precisely at the pivot. This view has persisted into the present. The Neo-Confucian philosopher Wing-tsit Chan, for example, in writing of the fall of the Legalists, says, "The brutality and violence of the Ch'in brought its early downfall in 206 BC, and the Chinese, fearful of the ruthlessness of the Legalists, have ever since that time rejected them. There has been no Legalist School in China in the last two thousand years, or even any Legalist scholar of any prominence."[24]

It is commonly recognized that many, perhaps even most, Legalist practices continued to persist long after the fall of Ch'in. But were the Legalist doctrines of culture and government so utterly rejected? That is, whatever political practice may have been, did the ideas of Legalism, as ideas, perish with the Ch'in dynastic line? The answer is only partly so. The names of the Legalist philosophers may have become anathema, but many of their principles continued on. There was in fact no sharp break, either intellectually or in political practict, between Ch'in and early Han times. Tung Chung Shu, who had argued so strongly against the evils of Legalism, incorporated not a few of the Legalist ideas still current from the Ch'in Dynasty into his own philosophy, ideas such as the absolute power of the ruler and the indispensible function of a bureaucracy chosen only by merit. It is the thesis of this paper that these doctrines were made even stronger by adapting to them some tenets of Confucianism having to do with the role of education in maintaining a well regulated state. In effect, Tung Chung Shu, by joining Confucian educational concepts to Legalist political goals, attempted to create the basis for a state that would indeed last through ten thousand ages. This was his answer to the great question left by the Ch'in debacle.

But it was not the case that Tung Chung Shu's Confucian beliefs were merely a kind of moral window dressing to the political realism of the Legalists. Education in traditional moral and cultural values was the key, Tung believed, to a well ordered, long lived dynasty, and to furthering the welfare of the common people; education for the

ruler, for his officials, and for the people. Only through education could the proper relationships between these three components of the state be established, and once established, maintained generation after generation in perfect harmony with eachother.

The problem as Tung Chung Shu understood it was to get the ancient institutions of education operating once again. "If the culture of the Chou Dynasty is continued, and the basic substance is restored, then the fundamentals of moral suasion are established," he reasoned. This restoration required an active emperor, one who utterly disowned the chaotic conditions he inherited. Wu Ti was in such a position, like certain of the sage emperors who had also begun new dynasties. Yao had set up his rule properly, employing the "worthy and wise. Education flourished and the world became harmonious," with everyone performing their proper function. Shun continued Yao's reign, but he had nothing more to do, and so he did nothing. Then Chou of Yin "killed the worthy and knowledgable; and injured and robbed the common people," so that good King Wen had to actively restore things again.

Wu Ti had inherited the chaos left by Ch'in, which had done its best to destroy the only institutions that could have preserved it. If, Tung argued, Wu Ti could recreate the educational apparatus used by Yao and Wen to rule their kingdoms by virtue, then Wu Ti's successors, like Shun, would need to do nothing more than keep these institutions operating, and the dynasty would be guaranteed. All Wu Ti needed to do was to follow the sage kings' example: When the sage kings inherited the disorder of the previous age they cut off all traces and completely did away with it. They reestablished education and raised it to a high position. After education became brilliant and correct habits were completed their grandsons carried it on and practiced it for five or six hundred years without losing it."[25]

What sort of education, then, should the emperor, the people, and the officials receive, with what results, and with what relationship to eachother? This question, which will occupy the rest of this paper, marked a new dimension added to the theory of imperial government, a dimension that is as vital in Chinese political principles today as when

Tung Chung Shu first introduced it in 136 BC.

THE EDUCATION OF THE RULER

The proper function of the ideal ruler was the key to Tung Chung Shu's utopian sage kingdom, where the jails were all empty and even the insects did not bite.[26] Without a strong, virtuous ruler Heaven's supporting mandate would be withdrawn, and the state would fall into dissolution. But it is not by positive action that the ruler exercises his distinctive virtue. The ruler that follows Heaven appears to do nothing. Others act for him, realizing his general purposes without the ruler himself necessarily raising a hand. The function of the virtuous ruler is to act as a moral point of orientation for all other elements of the state, a point of reference which does not itself move, but determines the motion of all who revolve around it.[27] The ruler, writes Tung, "is the mind of the people."[28] The people are his body. It is the body that acts and moves, but it is the mind that controls the quality and purposes of that action. "With whatever the mind likes, the body must be at ease."[29] The people, then, should be an extension, and only an extension, of the ruler, the unresisting receptors of his moral influence and instruments of his brilliant purposes.

It is vital, therefore, that the ruling mind know and love the Confucian virtues of filial piety, benevolence, ritual, and righteousness. If the ruler does not adhere to these things, the people will not be directed by the ruler's moral force, and officials will not be selected or promoted according to merit and virtue. Confusion and disorder are certain to follow. Tung wrote that "there was nothing that could be done for the rulers of those states whose knowledge was not sufficient to recognize wisdom," and who thus surrounded themselves with evil and incompetent advisers. Given a ruler without a proper moral education, "at worst the ruler will die and his state will be lost; and at best there will be disorder and danger."[30]

These disasterous results of a ruler failing to be properly educated are not only the natural consequences of moral chaos that occur when the ruler's virtue fails to transform the customs of the people.

Heaven itself steps in to warn the ruler, and if that does not avail, to overthrow him and end the dynastic line. Heaven sends disasters, such as floods or fires, or it sends good omens of auspicious beasts or good harvests, according to the actions and intentions of the ruler. Since education is the source of virtuous habits, Heaven's enmity or support was conditional upon Wu Ti's study habits, or so Tung told him. "It depended upon whether or not positive effort was being made. If you put effort into learning, then what you hear and see will be extensive, and your knowledge will be brilliant."[31] He would come to follow the true Way, the omens and signs would change for the better, and the dynasty would then be established for generations after.

What is the ruler to study with such diligence? The Confucian virtues of benevolence and righteousness, and the Confucian subject matter of rituals, or the rules governing the correct ordering of human relationships, and music, which was believed to have profound moral influence upon the spirit. It was rituals and music, Tung declared, that had saved the sage king empires from early extinction, and it was ritual and music, it should be noted, that were the peculiar property of the Confucianists.[32]

Thus far Tung's views, even if they took Confucianism some steps beyond what was directly stated in the classics, were at least consistent with their supposed origins. But Tung Chung Shu added on a further doctrine that radically reshaped Confucianism: that the power and authority of the ruler must be commensurate with his moral responsibility. If his responsibility to the people is unique and absolute, then his power must be so as well, else the ruler would be unable to effect the moral transformation of the people that is his proper function as ruler. For Confucius, it had not been necessary that a superior man hold power and position in order to practice correct moral principles. "Is one not a superior man," he asked, "if he does not feel hurt even though he is not recognized?"[33] When saying this, Confucius may well have been thinking of himself and his own dismal career in politics. Tung Chung Shu's interpretation of the meaning of Confucius's cheerless and vain thirteen year job hunt was quite different. It was because Confucius

had failed to obtain a post of any consequence that auspicious omens failed to occur, that "the phoenix does not come, the river gives forth no chart."[34] To be a sage king, one must be a king as well as a sage; one must, that is, hold temporal power over an actual kingdom. Wu Ti, Tung pointed out, was rich, powerful, in the highest possible position, and had considerable natural ability. But he was not a sage. He had what Confucius lacked, but did not have what Confucius did have. What was still needful was the proper exercise of moral suasion. Why were there not any auspicious portents? "It is all because moral suasion (hua) has not been established and because the people have not been rectified." Wu Ti was urged by Tung to follow the ancient sage kings who "established universities (da xue) in the capital and set up local schools to educate the people in the towns." Humanity, righteousness, and correct ritual were taught in those ancient schools, so that punishments were lightened. "Education was put into practice and custom and habit became good."[35] It was Tung's hope that Wu Ti, through education both of himself and of the people, would become a sage emperor, combining absolute power with absolute moral authority.

"Absolute" is not overstating the case. "The ruler of men," Tung wrote, "is the basis (ben) of the state."[35] Only the ruler has this position, nor can a ruler remain a ruler if he shares his status. It is his own peculiar nature, and he holds it alone. "The means by which the ruler is ruler is majesty. Therefore virtue cannot be shared, and majesty cannot be divided."[36] To do so would undermine the reverence of the people for him as the foundation of the state, and thus dissipate the power of moral suasion that the ruler alone can exercise. The ruler would lose his position as the supreme teacher of the people. "If there is reverence for the basis, then the moral suasion of the ruler is carried out as though he were a spirit. If the basis is not revered, then the ruler is without the means by which he can unite mankind."[37] Any attempt to lessen the power of the ruler by sharing it with other political factions would ultimately lead to chaos, since there would be no one left to lead, and thus no moral suasion would be possible. "There has never been anyone who did away with his power as a ruler who could

control the situation," and without power to control the situation disorder and ruin inevitably follow.[38]

The philosophical basis of Tung Chung Shu's linking together of education and absolutist politics lies in his view of the moral quality of human nature. His discussion seems, at first glance, to be a continuation of the debate between the followers of Mencius, who held that human nature is intrinsically good, and Hsun Tzu, who maintained that it is evil. Tung, who argued that it is both good and evil, did little to clarify or resolve the philosophical issues involved. He argued, for example, that the difference between himself and Mencius was one of perspective. Mencius compared man to the wild beasts, "he lowered his standards to the actions of birds and animals," and therefore concluded that by comparison man's nature is good.[39] Tung, on the other hand, claimed to measure man against "what the Sage (Confucius) considered good," and by these standards man does not measure up so well.[40] Tung's position misunderstood the substance of Mencius's position, that it is the capacity for moral choice that defines man as such, and also misrepresented Confucius, who held no clear position either way.

Judging from his use of the argument, however, the real significance of Tung Chung Shu's assessment of human nature was not in its philosophical content, but in its educational and political implications. Tung began by differentiating between mind (xin) and nature (xing). Nature is the part of human personality that man is born with. It is the "basic stuff" (zhi) of man, an undifferentiated jumble of desires and feelings, unordered and uncontrolled. Mind, on the other hand, is the controller or regulator (ren). It carries out its function by repressing the evil desires of man's nature, by preventing them from being realized. "That which controls the multitude of evils within and forbids them egress is the mind. Therefore the mind is named the controller."[41] If, Tung argued, human nature were essentially good, why would there be any need for a mind to control it? The careful examination of the name "mind" showed, Tung believed, the true nature

of man. Man, by nature, has both the greatest Confucian virtue, benevolence or humanity (ren), and its worst evil, selfishness (tan). It is mind that must regulate these two, allowing the one and suppressing the other. It is not, therefore, his nature that allows us to call man good, since the existence of mind shows that nature itself is not good. It is rather the operations of mind that lead to behavior that can properly be labeled good or evil.

Mind is not formed by nature. It is formed by education (jiao). Tung does not provide a careful exposition of exactly what he means by mind, the relationship between mind and education, or how the mind comes to hold and act upon certain principles in its regulatory function. Indeed, he dropped the term "mind" from the rest of his argument, preferring to discuss the conditions under which human nature becomes good without going into the details of the process itself. It is not, therefore, clear whether or not he believed that education is wholly an affair of the regulatory mind, or has a direct effect upon nature itself. All he assures us of is that education is the essential condition, and that it results in making human nature good. "We must know," he wrote, "that without the benefit of an education our Heaven-endowed nature (tian xing) can never be controlled."[42]

Tung used a simile to explain his meaning. Human nature, he wrote, is to goodness as the eyes of a sleeping man are to sight. Human nature, in its uneducated, natural state, has within it an unrealized potential for good, just as the eyes of a sleeping man have within their basic substance the power of sight, although that power may not be evident to someone observing the sleeper. As it is influenced by education, the potential for good in human nature becomes realized in fact.

Yet although the potential for becoming good may lie within human nature, goodness itself does not. The two are quite distinct. Using another analogy, Tung wrote, "Goodness is like a kernel of grain. Though the stalk produces the kernel, it cannot itself be called a kernel, and though the nature produces goodness, it cannot itself be called good." Heaven fashions human nature, the basic stuff, just

as it produces the stalk. But then the work of Heaven stops. If human nature is to become good, if the stalk is to produce its kernel, then man must continue and complete through deliberate moral cultivation Heaven's beginning. What lies beyond mere nature "pertains to the teachings of the sage kings. The teachings of the sage kings lies outside the nature."[43] It is therefore in education that goodness is found, and not in nature. "'Nature' must be imbued with education before it can become good. Goodness is that which is accomplished by education. It is not that which the basic substance can bring about of itself."[44]

This last point, that the basic substance of human nature is unable of itself to bring itself to goodness, is of particular importance. "If (goodness) were related to nature it would be troublesome and crude; we could achieve merit ourselves without the help of wise people or sages. This is a source of error of several of my senior contemporaries."[45] It is not clear exactly whom Tung has in mind. It might possibly have been certain Daoists, but more likely the followers of Mencius. In any case, they were wrong. "Nature," Tung corrected them, "must await instruction before it becomes good."[46] If it were possible for the people to become good without external instruction, then, argued Tung, what would be the use of sages? The fact that sages once existed to guide the people into the right way was a kind of proof to him that the people could not do it for themselves.[47]

The king according to Tung, was responsible for instructing the people, but this instruction was to be much more than mere external guidance. The nature of the people, as it is received from Heaven, is a disorderly stew of desires and emotions. By receiving the instruction of the king, it not only becomes ordered in a mechanical way, as if the problem were merely one of sorting out the good from the bad. Rather, the instruction of the king, his moral influence, is grafted on to the nature of the people, becoming a part of them, the part that is the source of their goodness. Without this mystical union with the spiritual power of the ruler, the people of themselves are of no moral significance. They are not really human in the Mencian sense of having within them some

innate principle of moral discrimination. "The people receive a nature, which is unable of itself to become good, from Heaven, and they turn to the king for the instruction that will complete their nature."[48] This moral capacity they must receive from the ruler, who "thus becomes the one responsible for the completion of the nature of his people."[49]

Only the king can exert this influence upon the people, since only the king is in ceremonial contact with Heaven.[50] The function of the ruler is to receive the teaching of Heaven and pass it on to the people. Only the king has access to the worship of Heaven, and thus only the king has the authority to morally instruct, and thus complete, the people. Because of this, the virtue or peculiar excellence of the king cannot be shared, and his majesty cannot be divided.

Further, the people cannot resist the power of the king's teaching. Their basic stuff "cannot but comply"[51] with that instruction, just as the body must be at ease with whatever the mind desires. The people have no mind of their own, nor are they capable of receiving, understanding, or applying moral principles by themselves to the cultivation of their character. Being in this chaotic, mindless, state, they cannot help but follow the instruction of the ruler.

In effect, Tung has made education a metaphysical necessity, and the ruler the supreme educator of the empire. By holding that educational, moral, and political power should coincide, absolutely, in one person, Tung effectively precluded the possibility of a politically or socially significant purpose for education outside the actual apparatus of imperial government. It had always been the case that Confucianism had conceived of education as being intimately related to politics, but never as merely the servant of a particular regime. Confucius had disowned a disciple who had levied heavy taxes merely to please the king he advised, while Mencius had preached rebellion in the name of righteousness. Both Confucius and Mencius, by precept and example, taught that education should have an independent, morally critical stance towards actual governments. Tung Chung Shu in one passage seems to follow their way (see below), but the vast burden of his argument is in quite the opposite direction.

Shryock[52] and others suppose that Confucianism was the less absolutist of the options open to the rulers of the early Han, and this might have been so if the Confucianism in question were that of Confucius or Mencius, as was later to be more the case. But the Confucianism of Tung Chung Shu was quite different from these. Tung had skillfully brought together the political principles of Legalism, particularly its exaltation of the absolute authority of the ruler justified in part by the childlike simplicity and natural incompetence of the common people, and the Confucian emphasis upon moral suasion and education, to produce a far more powerful ideology than Legalism alone could have created. The Legalists had favored leaving the people in ignorance, controlling them according to the king's pleasure by laws and punishments applied severely, but equally, to all. Tung retained this emphasis upon the king's absolute authority, and, as we shall see, some considerable emphasis upon laws and punishments. But Tung also added in moral education, and by doing so brought the stste, in the person of the emperor, into connection with all the customs that regula.ed the life of the people. The relationship between husbands and wives, sons and fathers, even friends - indeed, there were no relationships; commercial, public, familial, religious, that were not at least theoretically subject to the morally legitimate interference and direction of the emperor. Further, education, because it was identified with the ruler as its source, became the monopoly of government. Tung provided the justification for the suppression of all educational institutions apart from those connected with the state. Education was the emperor's prerogative, and only his.

While the ruler and his bureaucracy might provide checks upon the education of the people, suppressing these doctrines and practices while furthering those, the checks upon the ruler were of a different sort. Study was also necessary to the ruler, for much the same reason as education was necessary to the common people: "If a ruler does not study, he does not complete his virtue." Tung used a tactful metaphor. The ruler, he said, is like a beautiful piece of natural jade which needs to be carved to "complete its beauty."[53] As for those kings made

of baser things, Tung believed that Heaven would sooner or later destroy them. Perhaps the most effective check upon the arbitrary power of the ruler offered by traditional Confucianism was li. Li refers to routinized action which is correct because it is appropriate to the circumstances in which it is used. Li may refer to ceremonial behavior, to proper etiquette, or correct ritual behavior. In the hands of a philosopher such as Hsun Tzu, li becomes an expression of the natural moral law that binds heaven and earth together in natural harmony. Although Tung Chung Shu gives an occasional nod in the direction of li, it plays no important theoretical part in his philosophy. There is no discussion of the meaning of li either in cosmology or in ethics in Tung's extant writings, and is never appealed to as a principle that necessarily orders, and therefore restrains and controls, the ruler's actions. It seems to have more the status of good behavior, as for example when Tung includes li as part of the curriculum for the young king. Elsewhere, it seems to be merely a pious wish. For example, after noting that the king was the mind and the people the body, Tung went on, "Therefore the ruler and the people honor filial piety and brotherly love. They love ritual (li) and righteousness, give import to humanity and purity and despise wealth and profit."[54] This may have been Tung's wish, but only Heaven had any real power to enforce it.

EDUCATION AND THE PEOPLE

Tung Chung Shu's views on education and the common people are apparent fromthe discussion above. If education is the means by which the ruler controls the people, then it is the means by which the people are controlled. Like John Dewey, the model Tung used to describe an ideal system of educational values was the family. The differences between Tung's and Dewey's notions of a well regulated family, however, only show how much the idea of this "natural" social unit is determined by cultural circumstances.

In contrast to Dewey's guided democracy, Tung portrayed a rigidly hierarchical family model, in which the female and younger

members remain strictly obedient to the commands of the older males. What held for the family was also true for the state. As Fung Yu Lan has pointed out, "Tung Chung-shu, by linking subject to ruler, son to father, and wife to husband, makes subject, son, and wife secondary appendages of ruler, father, and husband."[55] The purpose of education for these appendages was to teach filial piety, loyalty, strict obedience, and other subservient values which, once well inculcated, would make the ruling of the family and state possible, since a well regulated family was the basis in Confucianism for a well ordered state. Once the people became indoctrinated into the rules and values of filial piety and obedience to older brothers, the state would become like the family writ large, with the ruler as its patriarch. The people would become "like sons and younger brothers, not daring to act on their own; and the ruler is like their parent."[56] In the name of controlling the people and preserving the dynasty, the most important principle of education became the deliberate suppression of any tendency toward independent thought and action, so as to prevent the people from acting on their own as free agents, and to teach them to follow with perfect obedience the thoughts of the mind that ruled them. Certainly the specter of the wildfire rebellion that brought the downfall of Ch'in haunted Tung's thinking. The irony was that Tung was so ready to resort to the very measures he claimed caused Ch'in's downfall.

Tung was praised in the Han Shu for two practical achievements: the founding of a university, and the suppression of all other schools of thought besides Confucianism. Tung referred to this suppression as "unifying the minds of the people,"[57] and related it closely to using education as a means of public control. In this he appropriated intact the methods of the Legalists, who had buried a number of Confucians, among others, only a few decades before for much the same reasons.[58]

Tung believed that following the Legalist ban on popular education would only lead to social disorder, the most serious threat to the dynasty. The Legalists had argued that the people should be left in ignorance, uneducated, to become like docile, domesticated animals, ready to do whatever the laws should command without question.

Tung Chung Shu worried that rather than becoming like domesticated *sheep, the common people might very well become like wild beasts.* Without the regulation of education given by the king, there would be nothing to control them. Rebellion and chaos would spread throughout the land, the proper social relations would fall into disorder, Heaven would be displeased and the dynasty would collapse. "Everyone would follow his own desires," Tung wrote, "and every household would have its own customs. Fathers would be unable to control their sons, and rulers would be unable to control their ministers."[59] The solution to this problem, Tung felt, was to unify the minds of the people. Once their minds were unified, the influence of the ruler over the people becomes miraculously effective: "The people are transformed as though he were a spirit."[60]

The difficulty was that although "unity is the constant connection between Heaven and Earth and the unchanging rule of past and present," the philosophers of the day, representing the "One Hundred Schools", continued to teach a variety of different moral beliefs. This had led to confusion, since those who were supposed to know the eternal principles of righteousness and to guide the state and govern the people by them only disputed among themselves over what, or even if, those principles were. The people, unable to act, think, or judge on their own, look to the wise men and rulers for guidance concerning what is right and wrong. When they see these disputes, and come under the sway of laws that seem to change according to circumstances, they are thrown into confusion. The emperor's power is diminished accordingly: "The One Hundred Schools of Philosophy point in diverse directions, and the ideas which they propound are not the same. This is the reason that the emperor has no way of maintaining unity, that the laws have undergone numerous changes, and that inferiors do not know what to hold to."[61]

The solution, Tung felt, was to interdict Confucianism's philosophical competitors, particularly Legalism. Tung wrote to the emperor, "I humbly submit that you cut off and do not allow to continue all that cannot be classed among the Six Arts or among the teachings of

Confucius. When heterodox doctrines are anihilated government can be consistent, the laws can be brilliant, and the people will know what to follow.[62] Tung's submission was accepted, and, at least for a short while, prominent Legalist officials were forced to leave the court. It could not have been long, however, before they reappeared. In any case, the strongly Legalist tendencies in Tung's own thought made the distinction between the two schools, at least philosophically, of less significance. What was important was that some sort of orthodoxy should be imposed, an orthodoxy capable of unifying the customs of the people, legitimizing traditional aspects of Han social structure, making absolute the power of the central state, and establishing a firm niche for Confucian scholars and traditional Confucian learning in the Han political system. The version of Confucianism Tung Chung Shu presented fulfilled all these requirements. There was, in fact, no serious competitor among the options such as Daoism or orthodox Legalism that could seriously challenge this updated Confucianism as an ideology best suited to keeping order among the people, glorifying the position of the ruler, and protecting the interests of the literati, and all with the blessing of traditional virtue.

EDUCATION AND THE BUREAUCRACY

The third great relation Tung explored with reference to education, after that of Heaven and the ruler, and the ruler and the people, was that of the ruler and his officials. It was to this relationship that he devoted most of his writings on education, since in practice it was the most important. Heaven might cast the deciding vote in the very long run, but the signs of Heaven were vague and difficult to decipher, so much so that they needed a corps of specialist scholars such as Tung to interpret them. The people were meant to obey, not to rule. But the everyday, day in day out, affairs of government were in the hands of the officials of the government bureaucracy. It was they who conducted the government's business, and so it was they who determined to a large extent the actual power and influence of the ruler. If the power of the ruler was to be extended, then, as Tung

said over and over again, a large number of the right sort of officials would be required. "Therefore," he wrote, "the art of establishing rule is in the honoring of the acquisition of wise men and in the unifying of their minds."[63] Tung Chung Shu's educational proposals were largely directed to achieving these basic conditions.

Legalists such as Han Fei had long advocated the selection and promotion of officials according to merit, rather than birth or other criteria irrelevant to bureaucratic efficiency. But they had sneered at the idea of finding such men of merit among the common people. "The reason you cannot rely upon the wisdom of the people is that they have the minds of little children," Han Fei had written.[64] But if competent officials were to be found, it was not clear from Han Fei's argument where the ruler should look for them. The only alternative seemed to be from among the hereditary nobility and others of sufficient power and wealth as to afford private tuition, and it was just these very factions that Han Fei saw as the greatest potential threat to the power of a strong central ruler. Possibly he expected persons of exceptional talent to emerge from among the common people as a kind of natural aristocracy, without need of specific training or selection, except according to the requirements of the task. Such a system, however, was not well suited to the large demands for trained officials to fill the middle and lower ranks of the expanding Han bureaucracy. There had to be some way of insuring an adequate supply of such persons. Tung's educational proposals, with their emphasis upon institutions to select and prepare candidates for the bureaucracy, and upon a curriculum teaching service, obedience, and loyalty to the state, were well designed to meet this need. In short, Tung Chung Shu supplied the principles and mechanisms that made Han Fei's purposes possible at the level of empire.

In the second round of questions put by Wu Ti to his court scholars, he asked for further instruction on good government, pointing out all the proper duties he already fulfilled, such as ritual plowing of the land and honoring of worthies. He also noted that it was difficult to apply the lofty sayings given in answer to the first questions.

Tung Chung Shu replied by praising the king for emphasizing agriculture, being concerned with the welfare of the common people, and seeking out the worthy to honor, all just as Yao and Shun had done. "But," he went on, "that which has not yet been attained is that scholars are not encouraged."[64] There was no point, he said, in looking for worthies among the people if there were no institutions established to train them up. It was like trying to look for ornaments without supporting the carving of jade. To obtain good officials, there had to be schools, and so Tung suggested to Wu Ti the establishment of a "university": "Anciently, of the important institutions for supporting scholars, none was more important than a university."[65] What he meant was the establishment of a state supported academy to promote the work of outstanding scholars in the Confucian classics. Promising young men from throughout the empire would be sent there, educated, and thus made fit for appointment to the bureaucracy. Tung wrote, "I wish that Your Majesty would cause a university to flourish and appoint brilliant teachers so as to support the scholars of the world. If you test and question them often in order to use them to the utmost, then you will have gained talented, superior, and proper assistants."[66]

There were two problems that this proposed university would solve. The first was a dirth of talented young bureaucrats sent in from the countryside. Han Wu Ti had called upon the commanderies to furnish the court with candidates for official posts, but there is some evidence that the request had often gone unheeded. Tung, in proposing the university, ascribed the reluctance of the districts to reply to the probability that they had no one to reply with. The production of scholar officials, he said, is the "intimate connection" between founding a university and maintaining the state. Indeed, he called this connection "the very origin of education."[67]

The second problem was the efficient operation of the government. Tung pointed out that it was the lower officials, down to the village leaders, who were responsible for transmitting and implementing Wu Ti's decrees. But if these petty officials were incompetent, then "Your Majesty's virtue is not proclaimed and your benevolence is not

transmitted."[68] Wu Ti's decrees were merely being ignored, with a consequent lack of real authority from the central government. "Now, the lack of replies to Your Majesty's edicts from all the many commanderies and kingdoms is the way that the Kingly Way is always broken off."[69] Further, many of the junior officials only used their positions to fill their own pockets, usually at the expense of the common people. "They harass the common people and by vile means profit themselves. Thus the poor, the orphans, the weak, the oppressed, the suffering, and those who have lost their patrimony are not at all treated in accordance with Your Majesty's will."[70] This had led to the dislocation of yin and yang, which in turn had led to evil auras, unnatural occurrances, and other signs of warning. "All this has been caused by local officials not being intelligent," Tung concluded.

Although he does not give him credit, it seems likely that Tung had in mind the educational innovations of another Confucian scholar, Wen Weng, in framing his suggestions. Wen, also a scholar specializing in the Spring and Autumn Annals, had been promoted to be governor of Szechuan by the same emperor, Ching Ti, who promoted Tung to the position of court scholar. Wen, according to his biography in the Han Shu, selected certain promising minor officials in his province for further education. Wen Weng himself taught the first, and when he had finished, sent them to the capital for further study with scholars there such as Tung Chung Shu. These students then returned and became the nucleus of an educational system for training up other promising young Szechuanese. Wen's experiment was quite successful, not only because it led to official appointment, but also because it gained special privileges for the literati such as exclusive use of a particular gate to the governor's residence, special clothes that only they could wear, exemption from taxes and forced labor, and the like. Wen's school became quite popular among the wealthy as well as among the common people. So many scholars were educated there that Szechuan, which had been known for its backwardness and barbarism, reportedly became a model of culture and learning. Wu Ti heard of it and was extremely pleased, ordering the leading officials in other areas to

follow Wen's example. The account of Wen's achievements in the Han Shu ends with the observation that "The Emperor Wu established schools in the provinces, but the system of government education really began with Wen Wang."[71] Tung Chung Shu's recommendation concerning the founding of a university,then, was not so much innovative as it was opportune. Wu Ti did not accept this proposal, however, until it was resubmitted by Kung Sun Hung some years later.

Wu Ti's hesitation to establish a university was perhaps due in part because Tung had also made another proposal for obtaining candidates for the bureaucracy, a simpler, more economical, and more direct one. The practice of the emperor calling for official candidates, and the prefects and other local officials responding as best they could, was an old one, dating from at least the reign of Kao Tzu. But these candidates were sought from a very limited from a very limited number of sources, and only from the geographical area near the capital. Tung felt that this led to a system of selection and promotion which was not at all according to merit. "Many of the local officials have been promoted from among the Gentlemen of the Palace and the Gentlemen of the Household. Sons and younger brothers of officials of the 2000 bushel rank are selected for these positions. It is also because they are rich and propertied and not necessarily because they are worthy."[72]

Tung suggested that the "Feudal lords, prefects of commanderies, and officials of the 2000 bushel rank select the worthy from among their junior officials and subjects and yearly send two men to become palace guards, so that you can see whether or not they have the ability to become high officials."[73] The persons who nominated them were to be punished if the candidates were not up to standard, and rewarded if they were exceptionally brilliant. Under this system, Tung felt, the local officials would go to some pains to find and train up promising candidates, and so "the scholars of the world will be obtained and good officials will be employed." This was the way Wu Ti would become a sage ruler: "If the worthy men of the world were to be used, everywhere the abundant rule of the Three Kings will be easy to carry out, and the fame of Yao and Shun can be attained."[74]

Tung clearly had it in mind that this proposal would net most of China's best scholars into some form of government service, as happened in later dynasties. It was perhaps assumed that they would be educated in some sort of educational system such as Wen Weng had begun. For the moment, however, Tung did not tie this avenue of official preferment to any particular educational system or institution. There was no mention of civil service candidates necessarily studying at a university. Further, when they were tested for advancement, the tests Tung advocated were not literary or academic. He proposed that they should be advanced or demoted according to how well they performed in actual situations. Wu Ti immediately acted upon these suggestions, but the needs of the bureaucracy seemed to be greater than this method of supply could satisfy, to judge from the frequent later calls for more candidates and the complaints that these calls were not being met.

In 124 BC Tung Chung Shu's earlier suggestion that an imperial university should be founded was taken up again by Wu Ti's Lieutenant Chancellor (and bitter foe of Tung Chung Shu, although both were Confucianists), Kung Sun Hung. This time Wu Ti approved the proposal, and the university was set up a few miles north of the capital. The purpose of the university was in part to bring together scholars to work on the recovery and reconstitution of works lost during the literary purges of Ch'in, but it was also, as Tung suggested, intended to train and select candidates to fill the middle and lower ranks of the expanding Han bureaucracy.

Young men at least eighteen years old, in good health, and of good moral character, were ordered sent to the university from all the commanderies and kingdoms of the empire. There they studied with the court scholars or, more likely, their senior disciples. After one year they were examined, and if found expert in one or more of the Confucian classics were declared to be "Literary Scholars." Those with lower, but satisfactory, progress might become attached to the palace as attendants, to wait until luck or intrigue brought them to the notice of the emperor or some powerful official. The least able were sent down immediately, while the most able were often recommended directly to the

throne for appointment to high position. Confucian scholars and Confucian learning rapidly came to dominate access to the civil service, with the result, according to Ssu Ma Ch'ien, that "from this time on most of the minor officials in the offices of the ministers and officials at the capital were Literary Scholars."[75]

The establishment of the university during the reign of Wu Ti was crucial to the advancement and entrenchment of Confucianism as a sect, since it insured that the control of China's educational system, such as it was, would be dominated by Confucians. Those who were not acceptable to the scholars on the teaching staff at the university would simply not have their papers reported to the emperor. It was possible, as has been noted, for officials to advance by other means into the bureaucracy besides going through the university, which might account in part for the continued influence of Legalism as a doctrine in Wu Ti's later years. The discussions on the salt and iron monopolies, conducted in 81 BC, show that Legalism and Legalist thinkers were far from extinct. To the contrary, they were clearly in control of government policy.[76]

In the long run the control over China's cultural life exerted by Confucian educational institutions, from which came the tutors for future emperors, the teachers in provincial schools, the tutors for wealthy and highly placed families, and not a small number of high officials, to say nothing of their dominance of the middle and lower ranks of the bureaucracy, pointed toward the increasing identification of Confucianism as China's official culture. Legalism, although its influence continued, was never directly associated with institutions that would insure its continued existence as a school. It remained a kind of primer in the practicalities of government without developing independently into a full political philosophy.[77]

Nevertheless, Tung's notion of how a ruler should rule in relation to his ministers was taken almost wholesale from Legalist interpretations of Daoist political doctrines. The function of the ruler, according to Tung, is not to act, but to set the general tone and to judge results. The ruler himself should never become involved in

the fray of actually initiating, implementing, or administrating his policies. "Seated on the throne of non-action (wu wei), he avails himself of the perfection of his officials. His feet do not move of themselves, but are led forward by his senior officials. His mouth does not speak of itself, yet his more junior officials sing his praise. His mind does not make its own plans,yet the host of officials effect what is proper. Therefore no one sees him act,yet merit is achieved. This is how the ruler of men patterns his behavior on the actions of Heaven."[78] The ruler hides himself away from the world, including his ministers, so that the officials cannot curry favor by flattery, and so that the ruler maintains his mysterious, aloof, and dreadful character. "Living deeply away in secret places and not showing his person is the means by which the ruler is spiritual," Tung wrote. "The ruler of a state is similar to the heart in the body. He lives hidden in the deep palace, just as the heart is hidden in the breast."[78]

In this dark, mysterious way, from deep within the palace, the ruler judges his officials according to their accomplishments, rewarding those who succeed, and punishing those who fail, without ever letting on his own thoughts and purposes. Continuing the analogy of the body, Tung wrote, "In employing people, in promoting the knights, he raises up the clear and intelligent and pushes down the heavily stupid, just as the body honors the eyes and demeans the feet."[79] Therefore the ruler must retain absolute control over rewards and punishments, using them to encourage and awe his officials. "After the ruler has the means to both encourage and awe them, he can control them."[80]

The rewards and punishments Tung had in mind were those connected with the patronage system. One of the purposes of establishing an elaborate bureaucracy, with many different ranks and levels precisely differentiated from eachother, is, according to Tung, to create an artificial system for rewarding the relative merits of the officials. Without the bureaucracy, there would be no way of regularly distinguishing officials of great merit and achievement from the stupid and incompetent. Without patronage, the ruler has no means of rewards and punishments, and without an elaborate bureaucracy, there can be no patronage.

Therefore, to secure his position, the ruler "establishes the system of honorable and lowly, and the difference between noble and mean, sets up an official secretariate, noble ranks, and official stipends." It is by judiciously handing out these rewards that the ruler is able to rule effectively: "Thus he moves men's minds."[81]

By linking bureaucracy and patronage, Tung was able to argue strongly in favor of a system of selection of officials according to merit. Giving patronage to favorites or allowing hereditary offices not only increased the liklihood of incompetent officials, but it also reduced the ruler's scope of power. Patronage enhanced the ruler's authority, but it also gave an opportunity to those scholars who because of their lowly birth or family fortunes had only their talents and learning to recommend them. Patronage according to merit also would considerably strengthen the position of such institutions as the university which controlled access to imperial rewards, particularly at middle and lower levels of the bureaucracy. It was a theory well adapted to the interests of all parties concerned, and became later the basic principle of the examination system.

As for the good official, Tung felt that his entire life should be didicated to serving the ruler with a devotion that seemed to transcend any mere calculation of rewards and punishments. "Submitting themselves and devoting their lives, and serving without acting on their own is the means by which they are loyal....Submitting to restriction and even dying for their country, never begrudging their lives, is the means by which they relieve distress....Returning the virtue to the ruler when merit is achieved or when an affair is completed is the means by which they cause righteousness."[82] The good official lives and dies for his ruler, exhausts himself utterly on the ruler's behalf, "pushing forward the ruler's glory and praising his goodness."[83] Legalism had provided Tung with this model of the ideal official, one who "does his utmost while showing his strengths and weaknesses"[84] so that the ruler may reward or punish him fairly. But the Legalists had proposed no means for obtaining such officials in the first place, for training them up, or forming their character in such a way that they should become

selflessly commited to serving their ruler. It was in this connection that Tung pointed to the ancient sage rulers who "established a central university and rural schools where deference and filial and brotherly love were taught."[85]

Tung believed that morally good officials were essential to good government. It was because of evil and incompetent officials that former kingdoms were lost, either by their direct action, or by luring or seducing the king into evil ways. The king might be blamed as a poor judge of character, but it was the wicked officials, such as Li Ssu, who were directly at fault. "From ancient times down to the present," Tung wrote, "we have never heard of a state which did not collapse when an unsuitable person was employed."[86] The matter was of such seriousness that should an official either create disorder or somehow demean the position of the ruler, "even though they do not rebel and kill the ruler, their guilt deserves death."[87]

To determine how these rewards and punishments should be given out, Tung proposed an elaborate system of examinations, similar in many respects to those eventually adopted in 124. He thought examinations should be conducted at regular intervals in the different political subdivisions, finally culminating in an examination supervised and judged by the emperor himself. The feudal lords were to give monthly tests, while the regional officers should test their officials quarterly. The emperor should give tests once each year. Tung proposed that the tests be divided into three groups according to their merit: superior, average, and inferior. Each of thise groups would be divided again into three categories, so that all the tests would be placed into nine different groups. All tests above the fifth group would be marked pass, while all those below it would be marked fail. The fifth group had a somwhat ambiguous status: Tung assigned it to both pass and fail.[88]

Elsewhere Tung suggested another ranking system that presaged the three-tiered system of scholarly titles later adopted as part of the examination system. "Those whose ability surpasses 10,000 men are called 'Outstanding'; those whose ability surpasses 1000 men are called 'eminent'; those whose ability surpasses 100 men are called 'refined'; and those whose ability surpasses ten men are called 'talented'."[89]

Unlike those later adopted in the T'ang Dynasty, the examinations Tung suggested were not directly linked to literary accomplishments. They were to be of a more practical sort, judging officials only upon how well they performed their duties, entirely according to results. "Do not judge merit by seniority, but rather test their worth and ability in actual situations in order to promote them," Tung advised Wu Ti.[90] In the practice of rewards and punishments if the echo is harmonious, then the ruler glorifies the one who caused the echo; but if the echo is discordant, he shames the one who caused the discord....Thus rewards are not illogical and punishments are not unwarranted."[91] Literary learning, he seemed to argue, is beside the point. "Give high reward to those who have great merit, and punish heavily those who have serious guilt. Although they are famous for their wisdom, do not reward thos who have been unable to create merit; and although they are known for their stupidity, do not punish those who have not been remiss in their official duties. Reward and punishment accord with reality, not fame. Wisdom and stupidity exist in basics, not in ornament."[92] The word used here for ornament, wen, is closely associated with literary culture and refinement. This use of rewards and punishments, and its dissociation from irrelevant criteria, was exactly the program suggested by Legalists such as Han Fei.[93]

If, as Tung maintained, the production of scholar officials was the very origin of education, and if these officials were to be tested according to actual results, rather than mere literary accomplishments, then it would seem reasonable to suppose that practical, even technical, subjects would comprise at least part of the curriculum in the schools Tung proposed. He himself did not seem to share the aversion of some of his fellow Confucianists to technical knowledge. For example, he suggested that the competent Minister of Agriculture should understand the laws of creation and fertility, "topography, fertile and rocky soil", as well as good and evil. The Minister of War should be expert in divination and astronomy, and the other ministers should also be expected to master the technical arts of their specialization.[94] Yet students at the university Tung proposed were to study only the

Confucian classics, the Book of History, the Book of Odes, of Music, of Rites, and the Spring and Autumn Annals, and on the basis of their expertise in at least one of these to be recommended to the emperor for official position. This left a considerable gap in Tung's theory between what should be studied by a civil service candidate and what should be evaluated in appointing or promoting him, a flaw that Tung did not repair. The fundamental criticism of the Legalists against the Confucians, that all their pious talk of the ancient sage kings and great moral principles derived from the classics did not result in operating principles that could be applied in any clear fashion to the immediate and pressing problems of government, still stood. It would be revived again in the discussions on the salt and iron monopolies in 81 BC, and therafter throughout the history of the imperial examination system.

CONCLUSIONS

What did Tung Chung Shu achieve? The Han Shu summarized Tung's achievements from the perspective of his Confucian contemporaries: "When Wu Ti first ascended the throne, the Lords of Wei-ch'i and Wu-an acted as his Prime Ministers, and they elevated the status of Confucianism. But it was not until the replies of Tung Chung Shu that Confucianism was exalted and the One Hundred Schools of Philosophy were repressed and done away with. The establishment of school officials, and the system whereby the talented, filial, and incorrupt were recommended from the commanderies and regions, both came from Tung Chung Shu."[95]

From the vantage of subsequent history, perhaps his greatest and most lasting achievement was his contribution to the cultural and political integration of the Chinese people. Up to his time, officials had been mostly drawn from a limited number of families living close to the capital. Because of Tung's proposals, primising candidates were recruited from all over the empire, and sent to work in places far from their native towns and villages. The pool of potential bureaucrats was greatly expanded socially as well as geographically, as persons of low birth had opened to them regular channels for gaining official

preferment, wealth, and status. Further, the university in the capital tended to fix Chinese literary culture throughout the empire, both by sending out scholars educated there to provincial schools, and by setting the curriculum for those schools. Tung Chung Shu had obtained, at least temporarily, the suppression of other philosophies by imperial decree, but it was the university that insured the dominance of Confucianism as the culture of the educated elite. By doing allthis, Tung had clearly laid the groundwork for the examination system established in later centuries. All the essential elements were there - the linking of education to selection for official posts, the increasing cultural unity of the empire, the emphasis upon merit over birth, and even much of the basic apparatus. It only remained for a time of peace and stability for the pieces to be put together into a single system.

Intellectually, Tung had managed to take many of the leading ideas of his days, whatever their source, and, in the name of Confucius, forge them into a single coherent system of thought with only a few major cracks. The simple but crucial fact was that empire, on the scale and complexity of that won by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, and later by Kao Tzu and Wu Ti, was unprecedented in Chinese history. Tung Chung Shu's was the first political and educational philosophy developed under these new conditions. Legalism had been created in the context of small states. Its scale was small and personal, with little or no account of the kind of political, social, or cultural institutions necessary to maintain a large, complex empire. Confucianism originally had even less to say about empires, except to oppose them in favor of feudalism. Confucius had favored a feudal model of government, while references by later Confucianists to legendary sage kings Yao and Shun were of little more than inspirational value. Tung Chung Shu, then, was the first major Chinese philosopher to address himself to the problems and the principles of governing an imperial state. These were of such a different scale of magnitude as to require a new political philosophy.

What Tung Chung Shu did in fashioning this philosophy was to take the goals and methods of Legalist political strategy and modify them by integrating them into the ethical and cultural apparatus of

Confucianism. Tung accepted the Legalist vision of the ruler - of his status, his power, and his central position in the state. To this he added on Confucian ideas of culture, ethics, and education, and so the ruler became the supreme moral as well as secular force in the state. The ruler was given the legitimate right to transform every aspect of the culture of his people; their customs, their relationships, their every move. The authority, but also the responsibility, of the ruler was extended absolutely. The ruler became like a god to his people, a spirit with the mysterious force necessary to control their behavior and complete their being.

As a part of this awsome power and responsibility, the ruler also became the head of the educational system. It was the ruler who conducted the highest examinations, and it was he, both in theory and in fact, who was the final judge on the ranking of scholars. Education was a tool of the state, the means by which scholar-officials to serve the bureaucracy could be trained up, scholars whose utter devotion, even to death, was to the ruler who controlled them by his god-like judgements and just bureaucratic rewards.

It might be argued, I think mistakenly, that Tung Chung Shu merely rationalized, glorified, and in some measure romanticized, the harsh realities of Wu Ti's bloody autocracy.[96] There is some ambiguity in interpreting what Tung means by "the ruler". If what he had in mind was the ideal ruler, the one whose reality matched the moral connotations of his title, then it is unclear how the description of this ideal ruler was meant to apply to those, such as Wu Ti, who were something less than sage kings. Did Tung believe sage kingdoms came only as a complete package, or was it possible to select this aspect and conveniently ignor that, approximate one ideal while not honoring them all? In particular, what if the ruler should arrogate to himself the power and glory Tung said must rightfully belong to him as ruler, but fails to develop the virtues of benevolence and righteousness that should govern such power? In short, what if the ruler assumes the power, but not the moral responsibility, of his position?

It is at this level of actualities that Tung's synthesis

of Legalism and Confucianism was most problematic. On the one hand he argued for giving the ruler absolute power far exceeding that proposed by the Legalists, a power that controlled all human relationships and customs. But he suggested no natural or social mechanisms, such as a rule of law or custom applying equally to the ruler, to insure that in some measure that that power would be used in a benevolent and righteous way. Heaven, in theory, punished and rewarded the ruler, but that punishment was more often than not directly borne by the common people, as in the case of famines or floods, and caused the ruler little or no immediate suffering. Further, the ruler, according to this theory, was only answerable to Heaven. This problem never bothered the Legalists, since they never supposed that the ruler must rule by virtue.

Similarly, Tung described the good official as one who has no will of his own, one who completely exhausts himself on behalf of the ruler. But what if the ruler is an evil one? If the good official is not supposed to flatter the ruler and pander to his wickedness, how can he help but retain an independence of mind with which to judge the rulers actions, as Confucius and Mencius had long ago recommended? Tung recognized that in fact a ruler's thirst for virtue would usually not match his desire for power and wealth. Tung censured the minister who says "'Good' to all the ruler speaks, flatteringly according with the ruler's instructions, listening to and obeying his selfishness, progressing what the ruler likes in order to gladden the ruler's heart, leading the ruler into evil and betraying the ruler into unrighteousness." Such a minister will undoubtedly gain great wealth, but he will get it at the expense of the people, and in the end, "the common people will become sad and bitter, rebelling against or abandoning the state."[97] Legalism, because it recognized no transcendent moral values as relevant to the problems of government, specifically condemned such independence, while Confucianism presupposed it. Only in an ideal sage kingdom, where virtue and power are one, could there be no conflict between the two points of view.

In matters directly related to education, Tung imagined that

in an ideal sage kingdom one of the most important tasks of education would be the moral indoctrination of the officials, so that they would be properly prepared to carry out the virtuous intentions of the sage ruler. The morals that were the proper content of the curriculum were found in the Confucian classics. At the same time, however, Tung recommended that the officials in the bureaucracy be regularly examined and promoted or demoted according to how well they performed their jobs. He specifically noted the possibility of someone academically incompetent who nevertheless did his work well, and the even more likely possibility of someone being noted for his scholarship but utterly incompetent in administrative affairs. These people should be dealt with according to results, not reputation, Tung felt. From a common sense point of view, Tung's position is unassailable. But it still left the question of what relevance, then, was the study of the Confucian classics to the everyday demands of jobs requiring technical expertise, experience, and practical know-how. The Legalists had favored a competency based program in favor of one emphasizing the foundations. Tung, as devoted as he might have been to the Confucian classics, appropriated their argument, but failed to show the continuing relevance of the classics to the actual problems of government.

The synthesis Tung effected might hold together at the level of the sage kingdom, but it could not be sustained in the context of the actualities of the early Han empire. In the Discussions on Salt and and Iron, which reported the debates between the Confucianists and the government over the salt and iron monopolies, the Confucianists argued against the expansion of government, against great public works, against the absolute authority of the government, against all the policies of expansion and "modernism" that had characterized Wu Ti's early reign. The Confucianists, although they won every moral battle, entirely lost the war. It was clear they could no longer be considered as in any sense significant in the formation of major government policy. It was, then, with the deepest, if unconscious, irony, that they held up Tung Chung Shu as their champion. The vision of power and virtue united was in fact only left as a vision.

SPECULATIVE POST SCRIPT

Tung's influence upon traditional Chinese education is not difficult to discern. But has that influence continued past 1949? It is tempting to see the cult (I would emphasize the cult, not the reality) that developed around Chairman Mao during the Cultural Revolution, particualrly in matters of education, as being continuous, although obviously not derived from, some aspects of Tung Chung Shu's ideas, as if both drew from a common pool of cultural dispositions. Mao, like the sage ruler Tung idealized, was revered as the great teacher of the Chinese people, as well as their political leader. The teaching he gave was fundamentally moral in nature, and in the Chinese sense of defining the right relationships between different elements in society.[98] Further, it completed the nature of the people in much the same sense Tung seemed to have understood the phrase. That is, the ruler taught the people the correct theories, values, and attitudes necessary for the people to understand and control the welter of undirected feelings they had had before being illuminated.[99]

Obviously, the similarity cannot be pushed too far. The content of Maoism and Tung's Confucianism are in most respects radically different, as for example in the status of the common people, of technical knowledge, or of revolutionary versus static principles of government. The form, however, is often strikingly similar. The ruler is responsible for the right moral behavior of his people, and he effects this by moral suasion. The ruler himself remains a shadowy, spirit-like being, whose ministers are left to serve with utter devotion while establishing concretely the signs of his moral sway. The influence of the ruler is like that of a spirit, almost supernatural in its efficacy. These principles seem to apply as much to the cult that invested Mao Tse Tung as they did to the sage king ideal of Tung's Confucianism. The veneration given to Mao's thoughts, their infallible status, the sometimes magical consequences that follow their deep study, give some concrete notion of the kind of moral sway Tung Chung Shu believed the true ruler could exercise. It is curious, as well, that much of this cult is presently being undone in the name of practical requirements of development, of the realities of practical economic, social and political problems. It is as if the ancient synthesis Tung tried to effect is still a matter of contention.

NOTES

1. Fung, History, p.16
2. Following Dubs, Former Han
3. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
4. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56. A complete translation of all the extant works and fragments of Tung Chung Shu (with two minor exceptions), may be found in Norris, Tung Chung Shu. Extensive sections translated into English may also be found in Fung, History, while Shryock has translated one of Tung's replies to Wu Ti from the Han Shu.
5. According to Norris, there is some doubt about the authenticity of a few passages, and there appear to have been a number of small mistakes made in copying. On the whole, however, the text is generally considered far less corrupt than many other texts from about the same period. Cf. Su Yu, Ch'un Ch'iu.
6. Loewe, Conflict and Crisis, p.12 Tung fits well into Loewe's description of what he calls "Modernist" with one great exception. Tung was continually given to seeing signs and omens from Heaven in any strange or disasterous event. Loewe ascribes this propensity to the other faction, the "Reformists". The addiction to omens, however, fits as well with the highly metaphoric method of literary interpretation used by the Modernists, and with the general revival of religion and superstition characteristic of the early Han, as it did with the literalism and secularism of the Reformists.
7. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.75. This translation, and nearly all others in this paper, are taken from, or closely follow, those in Norris, Tung Chung-shu.
8. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
9. Dubs points out that Wu Ti's subversion of the constitution placed the emperor above criticism, to the harm of effective and the peril of court officials such as Tung Chung Shu. Cf. Dubs, Former Han, p.10
10. Dubs, Former Han, p.7
11. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.1
12. Confucius, Analects, 17:9
13. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.13
14. Cf. Bodde, China's First Unifier, p.147-174
15. Quoted from the Shih Chi by Ssu Ma Ch'ien in Fitzgerald, China, p.150
16. Perhaps the most complete account by an early Confucianist of the fall of Ch'in appears in the Kuo Ch'in Lun, or Faults of Ch'in, by Chia I, as preserved in the Shih Chi. The argument was common property among the early Confucianists, however, and appears in such sources as Tung's replies to Wu Ti and in the Discourses on Salt and Iron.
17. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch. 43
18. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
19. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56

20. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.5
21. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
22. The Empress Dowager, however, was a convinced Daoist. In a showdown with two of her son's Confucian advisers who tried to lessen her influence over him, she clearly came out the victor - one resigned, the other was executed - and retained her power until her death in 135 BC.
23. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch. 56
24. Chan, Sourcebook, p.51. Similarly, Needham (Science and Civilization, p.105) wrote that the Legalists were "liquidated" by Wu Ti's ban on them in 141 BC.
25. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
26. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.6
27. Cf. Confucius, Analects, 2:1; "A ruler who governs his state by virtue is like the north polar star, which remains in its place while all the other stars revolve around it."
28. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch. 38
29. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.38
30. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.5
31. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
32. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
33. Confucius, Analects, 1:1
34. Confucius, Analects, 9:8
35. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
36. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.20
37. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.19
38. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.6
39. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.35
40. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.35
41. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.35
42. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.35
43. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.36
44. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.36
45. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.36
46. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.36
47. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.35
48. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.35
49. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.36
50. The concept of Heaven (tian) in Tung's writings ranges from the impersonal forces of nature to an almost anthropomorphic supreme diety who sets right by timely interventions the waywardness and injustice of man. See Fung, History, p.19
51. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.36
52. Shryock, Cult of Confucius, p.47
53. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
54. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.38
55. Fung, History, p.43
56. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.19
57. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
58. As preserved in Ssu Ma Ch'ien, Shih Chi
59. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.19

60. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.19
61. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
62. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
63. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.19
64. Han Fei, Basic Writings, tr.Watson, p.128
65. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
66. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
67. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
68. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
69. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
70. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
71. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.59, as quoted in Shryock, Cult of Confucius, p.68
72. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
73. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
74. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
75. Cf. Dubs, Former Han, p.347
76. Cf. Loewe, Crisis and Conflict, Ch.3
77. For example, Watson writes, "The fourth and third centuries B.C. saw the appearance of a body of technical literature in Chinese - treatises on divination, medecine, agriculture, logic, military science, and so forth. The Han Fei Tzu is actually more closely allied to this genre than to the broader philosophical works of the period." Watson, Basic Writings, p.14
78. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.78
79. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.78
80. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.20
81. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.20
82. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.78
83. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.78
84. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.18
85. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.19
86. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.5
87. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.1
88. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.21
89. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.28
90. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
91. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.20
92. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.21
93. Cf. Han Fei Tzu, sect.6, "On Having Standards", in Watson, Basic Writings, p.21 ff.
94. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.59
95. Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch.56
96. Cf. criticisms of Tung made as part of the Anti-Confucian campaign, as in Zhou, Lun Dung Zhong Shu
97. Tung, Luxuriant Dew, Ch.59
98. The mode of organization in China that continually emphasizes the importance of human relationships is neatly presented in William Brugger's Democracy and Organization in the Chinese Industrial Enterprise, 1948-1953. London: Cambridge University Press, 1976
99. Cf. the role of Marxist theory as elaborated in Mao's essay "On Practice"

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